

‘I am doing divinely’

Jenny Lind’s financial legacy

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1. Introduction

The soprano Johanna Maria, nicknamed ‘Jenny’, Lind (1820–1887), ‘The Swedish Nightingale’, was met by 25,000 people when she arrived on the paddle steamer *Atlantic* in New York City on 1 September 1850. Or was it 40,000 people? The sources are not in concord. She was what The Beatles were for the baby boomers in the 1960s. She preceded the next global Swedish music export, ABBA, by more than a century.

The scientific domain of ‘Work/Labour in Music’ is growing rapidly. It has its own network, ‘Working in Music’,¹ and its own conferences. Dagmar Abfalter and Rosa Reitsamer (2022) have edited a new book with a variety of articles covering music as labour. Jazz musician Marc Perrenoud (2021) discusses the issue in focus here, namely that of how a musician can be paid for their music. Samuel Cameron (2015) has a social economics approach. He mostly approaches the issue of artists’ remuneration through the consumption of music. Payments for live performances are normally provided by concert promoters. Ola K. Berge and Bård Kleppe (2022) present a thorough picture of Norwegian concert promoters and what motivates them. Matt Stahl (2021), when discussing gender-related problems in the US recording industry, compares these problems to a British legal case shortly after Jenny Lind’s last opera series in London. A common theme in international and national conferences (for instance [mirac.se/konferens-2021](https://www.mirac.se/konferens-2021)) and publications – for instance the paper by Kinnunen and Honkanen (2021) – is the restarting of music production after the Covid -19 pandemic. Streaming technology, which is still relatively new, is another frequent theme; see, for instance, the paper by Zhang and Negus (2021). Hence, the discourse revolves around current issues in the music industry that are of importance for the near future. Of course, the welfare of the industry as a whole provides the possibilities for what is in focus here, namely the actual pay given to performers. Ying Zhen (2022) has recent (2018) information on musicians’ earnings in the US. The data are based on a survey of more than 1,200 musicians. Questionnaires were possibly used because official data on individual earnings are difficult to access in many countries, limiting attempts to study remuneration. Not all tax authorities are willing to disclose their information. In music, data on individual incomes are often hidden behind corporate arrangements. Much of the labour is provided by

¹<https://wim.hypotheses.org/1>

firms of various sizes – from sole proprietors to large limited production companies.

Klaus Nathaus and Martin Rempe (2021) provide a historical perspective on the conditions for performers in the music industry during the twentieth century. Perspectives reaching even further back in history – such as the nineteenth century of Jenny Lind – are rarer. Karol Jan Borowiecki (2021 [with Christian Møller Dahl], 2017, 2014) provides a great deal of information on the working conditions of classical composers that decided their income options. There are bits and pieces of income information scattered within composers' biographies. Ingeborg Nordin Hennel (1997) describes the conditions under which female singers, including Lind, at the Royal Swedish Opera worked. F. M. Scherer (2004, pp. 86–87) has income examples for Franz Liszt and Richard Wagner. Furthermore, he presents a table with the value of 23 composers' estates at or near time of death (Scherer, 2004, p. 105). Mozart and Schubert had negative estate values. Paganini, on the other hand, was more fortunate, or a better investor, with an estate value at his death in 1840 of £30,284 (*€5,357,000*).² Rossini, with an estate value at the time of his death in 1868 at £97,580 (*€12,400,400*), was the wealthiest of Scherer's examples.

The author of this paper has contributed an article on Beethoven's and Schumann's financial circumstances based on data collected from biographies and the *Beethoven-Haus* archive in Bonn (Albinsson, 2012). Mats Hayen (2017) has studied bankruptcies of the staff of the Royal Swedish Theatre 1773–1792. Marie Steinrud (2017) has provided insights into female Swedish actors' living conditions and financial situations between 1780 and 1850. She does not mention Jenny Lind. Instead she provides a backdrop for this paper on the most successful actress from Stockholm by presenting the difficult professional conditions suffered by a number of well-established but, in comparison to Lind, less fortunate local actresses. The author's paper on the salaries of rank-and-file musicians in the Royal Swedish Opera 1799–1980 describes the income of orchestra musicians (Albinsson, 2016). Here, instead, the financial success of the most celebrated singer of her time is presented. She, too, was a member of the Royal Swedish Opera staff during the first years of her career.

We now consider Jenny Lind to be a performer in the classical music field. The young sopranos who today receive grants from the Jenny Lind Foundation in Sweden are performers within this tradition. We should, however, bear in mind that comprehensive vocal training was of paramount importance for the

² Henceforth, the estimated July 2022 value in € is given in italics after the historic value in local currencies. The *absolute* worth over time (rather than the relative worth) from Rodney Edvinsson's online historical currency converter is used for present-day comparisons: <http://www.historicalstatistics.org/Currencyconverter.html>. His converter ends with 2015 values. The CPI for € has increased by 17.14% from then until July 2022. If, instead, Edvinsson's *real* value alternative, derived from Swedish male workers' wages, had been used, the present value of Lind's total income over her lifetime would amount to 30 times as much – circa €700 million. Obviously, estimations of the present value of historical amounts must be understood with a lot of reservations.

performance of any kind of music for large audiences during Jenny Lind's time. Lind's first US concert, in Castle Garden, New York City, was attended by at least 5,000 people. Her programme consisted of both arias from contemporary operas and songs belonging to a genre best described as 'popular music'. Unlike the current situation for famous opera sopranos, hers was truly a household name. This was definitely the case in the US, where Phineas T. Barnum's cunning marketing campaign penetrated national and local media to such a degree that Lind, as we shall see below, eventually felt a need to finish their professional relationship.

Jenny Lind was thought of as a very wealthy woman. The main object of this study is to search for and present actual amounts to substantiate this claim. Lind was also seen as a great benefactor. This second claim will be researched, too. For what did she use her fortune? In this study, we follow Lind's career, with an emphasis on fees, box office shares, 'service money', and donations to charity.

Lind's expenses are much less discussed here. We know little regarding her expenses for everyday living. It is mentioned below that Lind was described as a modest woman with little interest for *extravaganze*. In several engagement contracts some expenses, such as accommodation costs, were to be covered by the employer; such information is provided.

Lind's tale has been written by many biographers ever since her own time. Jenny Lind biographies can be measured in shelf metres. The most extensive is in two volumes from 1891 by Henry Scott Holland and William Smyth Rockstro (1891a, 1891b). The latest in English is Sarah Jenny Dunsmure's (2015). Ingela Tägil's (2020) biography in Swedish for Jenny Lind's bicentenary is even more recent. Tägil (2020, p. 8) clarifies that both Holland and Rockstro belonged to Lind's circle of friends and that they present a deeply romanticised picture of her. Many later biographers recycled information from Holland and Rockstro and, thus, their partly biased take on Lind is reflected in them. Tägil, however, also emphasises that Holland and Rockstro included many interesting Lind letters in their entirety.

Lind herself mentioned incomes in letters. The more scholarly publications have provided such information to a lesser degree. They cover other facets of Lind's life. Matildie Thom Wium (2016, pp. 286–287) finds that

[i]n the last two decades, scholarship on Lind has explored the cultural meanings of her celebrity, and has highlighted two themes in particular: on the one hand, that her persona as portrayed in the press was informed by ideals of bourgeois femininity and respectable morality, associated with philanthropy and Protestantism; on the other, that she was regarded as the embodiment of her Swedish national culture and Germano-Nordic ethnicity (the latter image, especially in conjunction with ideals of moral purity in the demure domestic female, militated against the apparent cosmopolitanism of her profession, which was disapproved of in increasingly nationalist cultures).

Obviously, some information provided by academic journals has affinity with what is discussed here. Hence, such information has been included here as well.

Primary information has been found in a few archives. Information on Lind's income and abundant donations to charities appears scattered over many thousands of biography pages. Swedish newspapers covered her continuous international success. Such sources are used here for secondary information. The combination of primary and secondary data is used to create a condensed rendering of both incomes and donations.

Lind was not the first and only international soprano celebrity in music. Her predecessors include Angelica Catalani (1779–1849), Maria Malibran (1808–1836), Henriette Sontag (1806–1854), and Giulia Grisi (1811–1869). However, none created such a sensation and persistent mania as Lind. After her seasons in opera houses in Stockholm, Berlin, Vienna, and London, Lind made the great tour of America arranged by P. T. Barnum. There she made a lasting impression, crowd-pleased through the use of popular music, reinforced the budding interest in art music, opened up the market for other European stars (among them Grisi), and made a considerable fortune. Lind needed the money, as she had decided to retire at an early age. She was not even 30 when she decided to leave the opera stage and, at a less hectic pace, only sing in concerts and oratorios.

Jenny Lind is commemorated through a long list of towns, streets, and schools that still bear her name. Ships and locomotives were named after her. She inspired furniture design and other household items. Will top-ranked female singers of today be remembered in this way two centuries from now? Will there be a town called Rihanna? A Taylor Swift high school? Or a Beyoncé children's hospital? They probably make more money than Lind did. However, hers was a different world, where the music business was in its infancy.

2. Charity

Before the Swedish industrialisation began in the second half of the nineteenth century and the process toward the welfare society commenced, support for the poor was voluntary. One source for poor relief was concerts for charity. They had occurred in Stockholm ever since the first public concerts were introduced there in 1731. For the second such orchestral concert in *Riddarhuset* (Knight's House) on Good Friday, the nobility had let their main hall on the condition that they should receive the box office revenue in order to 'destinate the money to whomever poor they pleased' (Helenius-Öberg, 1994, p. 73³). After its inauguration in 1771, the Royal Swedish Academy of Music produced not only subscription concert series but also a large number of concerts for the benefit of the Seraphim Hospital, the military hospital, and the victims of major town fires in the provinces. For a number of years there were charitable concerts for the Masonic Children's Home every Good Friday (Albinsson, forthcoming). Probably, at least partly, due to her troublesome upbringing (Tägil, 2020, pp. 15–

³ All translations from Swedish are made by the author. Translations from other languages are mostly made by the respective authors of the referenced material.

24), Lind was to engage herself in comprehensive activities for charitable causes in several countries. Lind identified the need for support of the financially unfortunate and wished to make a substantial contribution. In this she was not unique. However, the scope and the scale were noticed and everywhere much appreciated. It was to play a vital role in the creation of the Jenny Lind image and reputation.

Lind was not the first altruistic prima donna. Beth L. Glixon (1995) describes how in the mid-seventeenth century the celebrated soprano Anna 'Renzi's financial status was such that she was willing to lend relatively large sums of money, without interest, to friends and acquaintances. In this regard she is so far unique among our prima donnas.' However, she meticulously kept her financial books with a notary and regularly demanded her money back. Although she showed signs of benevolence, she was not a giver. Eighteenth-century artists showed their benevolence through giving benefit concerts for noble causes or for colleagues. Hilary Poriss (2012, p. 46) finds that 'tales of generosity became a rule for nineteenth-century prima donnas'. Poriss mentions Giuditta Pasta, Catherine Stephens, Angelica Catalani, Henriette Sontag and, later, Adelina Patti and Marcella Sembrich. Jenny Lind is described by Poriss (2012, p. 52) as 'patron saint of beneficent prima donnas', however, Lind 'may even have exaggerated her charitable donations as a means of elevating her status' and thus trying to increase her symbolic capital. The *New York Daily Times* in October of 1850 labelled some of her actions 'unworthy tricks upon the public', citing a charity concert in Buffalo, New York, 'for the relief of the sufferers by the fire, yielding \$1,900 in gross, and only \$700 net'. However, on the whole, Lind was greeted with respect and admiration for her donor activities. Concert promoters, primarily P. T. Barnum, used her reputation as a benevolent giver to their advantage.

Before Lind set foot on American soil, Barnum 'had for months paid journalists to write glowing accounts of Lind's talents and successes, focusing on her extraordinary benevolence, her generosity and her high moral fiber' (Lynch, 2020). It was to pay off handsomely for both Lind, Barnum and those who benefited from her charity work in America. Barnum had received his picture of Lind's personality from Europe.

Lind returned to Stockholm in triumph from Berlin in 1844. Her success in the Prussian capital had made the Stockholmiens understand her true capacity and that they had fostered an extraordinary artist on an international level. The 'jennyism' in Stockholm reached such echelons that a newspaper, *Den Konstitutionelle* of 24 January 1845, finally thought it proper to question it:

Do not claim that she does not belong to the ordinary human race, that she was not created for this miserable world, that she is a creature of innocence and nature, that when you see her, you think you see a spirit, an airy being, in one word: a representative from a completely different world. Shut up with all this, because it will be extremely hard to digest in the long run.

However, two years later this ‘jennyism’ in her hometown evolved to a ‘Lindomania’ in Britain. It was registered by Barnum and it followed her to America.

3. Early career in Stockholm, 1837–1844

Jenny Lind was a child prodigy. Her talent as a singer was discovered in a rather haphazard way by a passer-by ballet dancer’s maid who heard the little girl Lind sing through an open window. Lind was immediately taken from her poor, single mother and put in the girls’ school of the Royal Theatre.⁴ She first appeared on stage as a dramatic actor at the age of ten – a few years before her first contract as actress pupil. She made her debut in a leading opera part at age 17. The success was huge.

As in other countries, artists’ contracts could include performances at which they could receive the net box office revenue. When Jenny Lind got her first contract at the Royal Theatre, two of her female colleagues, Wilhelmina Enbom and Emilie Högquist, had such benefits of one annual ‘*recette*’. This, of course, was not thought of as charity but part of the financial compensation. Lind had no such clause in her contract for her first stint in 1837–1841, but she was guaranteed a handsome pay rise from 700 riksdaler banco (rdb) in 1837 (€10,200), via 900 rdb two years later, to, finally, 1,100 rdb for the 1840/41 theatrical year (*Kungliga Teaterns arkiv/KTA* [Royal Theatre Archives], code G2 FA vol 1). From this money, she offered support to her parents. Before turning 20, she was appointed court singer by King Charles XIV John,⁵ with an extra bonus of 200 rdb per annum.

The contract for Lind’s first Royal Theatre employment has not been found. Nordin Hennel has, however, found the contract of another young actress at the Royal Theatre, Fanny Hjortsberg:

for her service in the Royal Theatre, Mrs. Hjortberg provides herself with ... all kinds of women’s normal clothing that does not constitute a particular period or character costume, shawls, voiles, plumes, flowers, pins, ribbons, modern hats, coiffures and dressing-gowns, necklaces, earrings, bracelets, buckles and other trinkets, collars, collemontées, sashes, aprons, gloves, socks, shoes, boots... dresser and hairdressing, make-up, washing and cleaning. (Nordin Hennel, 1997, p. 436)

When special clothing allowances were granted, this meant that Hjortsberg had to procure what was necessary as theatrical costuming. She was to receive a salary at 1,000 rdb for the first year, plus the proceeds from a ‘*recette*’). Like other actors

⁴The Kongl. Teatern company has had several names since its inauguration in 1773. During Jenny Lind’s time it was called The Royal Theatre. It produced both dramatic and lyrical performances. At the end of the nineteenth century, drama and opera were separated.

⁵ Field Marshal Jean Baptiste Bernadotte of the Napoleonic French Army was appointed crown prince of Sweden in 1810. He took the name Karl Johan (Charles John). He took over the throne in 1818.

and actresses Hjortsberg had to pay part of her salary back to the Royal Theatre's Pension Fund.

When her first contract expired, Lind was already set at a move to Paris, where she would study for the renowned vocal teacher Manuel Garcia. She had become the main attraction at the Royal Theatre, and the management, in order to keep up a good relationship, made no demands with reference to the obligation of ten years of service in the first apprentice contract. To cover the costs in Paris, Lind made a tour of several provincial towns in southern Sweden in the summer of 1840. Hers was already a name that resounded nationwide. The revenue must have been substantial, as it kept her afloat in Paris for almost a year with the extra cost of the tuition. After a fourth season in Stockholm, Lind spent the following season, 1841/42, in Paris, apparently without performances or other income. Garcia's fee was 20 French francs per hour (Bulman, 1956, p. 42). At first, he regarded her voice as severely worn. This seems to be correct on all accounts after the overly demanding service in Stockholm. Garcia recreated and refined her vocal capacity. Lind shared tuition for Garcia with a friend and colleague from Stockholm, Henriette Nissen, who was more fortunate in the Parisian circles. In 1842 Nissen was engaged at the *Théâtre-Italien*, where she remained for a decade. Lind was not as successful. She seems to have disliked Paris – at least its operatic environment – and was homesick.

The Stockholm Royal Theatre was anxious to have her back and offered a contract at 1,800 rdb for a maximum of 50 performances plus one *recette*. With this she was the best paid singer at the opera only matched by tenor Julius Günther. More performances could be accepted with an extra fee at 66.75 rdb (Contract, 1842). She performed 106 times that season. So, her total salary for the 1842/43 season should, mathematically, amount to 5,500 rdb (€76,800). Her contract allowed absence 15 June - 1 October, during which time she made her first international appearances. A few decades earlier, the performances in Finland (Åbo/Turku and Helsingfors/Helsinki) would still have been domestic. The upper class in the new Russian Grand Duchy of Finland, after the 1809 Swedish loss of the provinces east of the Baltic Sea, remained Swedish in most ways except nationality. So, Lind felt at home, and her performances were triumphant. Bulman (1956, p. 64) claims that Lind collected 667 rdb from her concerts in Finland. Before the start of the 1843/44 season in Stockholm, Lind made a ten-day concert tour in Southern Sweden and performed at the Royal Danish Opera in Copenhagen (Bulman, 1956, pp. 62-65). Her contract for 1843/44 was for 1,800 rdb. However, Franzén claims a total income for 'tenure and service' at 3,200 rdb plus fees from various concerts. She needed the money to support her parents and to cover her first own flat. It was up to her new position as the star performer. The rent was 500 rdb annually (Franzén, 1982, p. 93).

At this time, an unmarried woman in Sweden had limited financial freedom. Her finances had to be taken care of by her parents or a guardian. Due to the

awkward relationship with her parents, Lind asked for the latter, and Judge Henrik Mathias Munthe at the Stockholm court of appeal was appointed. Actually, in the minutes from the Castle Court of 30 January 1843, it is the father, Niklas Johan Lind, who asks to be relieved from the responsibility, as he is about to move from Stockholm, and he suggests that Munthe shall be appointed as trustee (Castle Court, 1843). It is generally understood by biographers that Lind herself was behind the change (e.g., Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 152; Franzén, 1982, p. 75; Dunsmure, 2015, p. 53; Tägil, 2020, p. 149). She had leased the farmhouse 'Pommern' in Sollentuna for her parents. Now Sollentuna is a Stockholmian suburb; then it was considered to be situated in the countryside at a considerable distance from the capital. In this way, Lind bought herself an arm's-length distance from her now married parents and a financial custodian whom she trusted and was to have a lifelong collaboration with.

Lind, of course, sang in her own benefit performances at the opera house as well as in those for her actor colleagues. In 1843/44 nine other actors had such *recettes* included in their contracts (KTA code G2 FA vol 1). The first performance that she organised herself for a charitable purpose was for her composer friend Jacob Axel Josephson. He had expressed a wish to study abroad. In May 1844, Lind and her singer friends Julius Günther and Mina Fundin produced a *recette* concert in Uppsala, which brought in 900 rdb (€14,600) to Josephson (Franzén, 1982, p. 103).

For the 1844/45 season, Lind was offered a new contract for eight seasons in Stockholm with a lifelong annual salary, also for her years as a future retiree, at 7,500 rdb (€109,200) (Dunsmure, 2015, p. 74). Her name is on the list of employees at the Royal Theatre, but with no salary indicated (KTA code G2 FA vol 1). She had turned down the offer.

Lind's contracted fees for the six theatrical years she spent in Stockholm in 1837–1844 totalled 7,000 rdb. According to her contracts, she should have received a total compensation of 4,800 rdb for extra performances – over and above the 50 agreed per year – during her last two seasons. A few *riksdaler banco* were paid as 'service', nicknamed 'diligence', money for each appearance. During Lind's first stint in Stockholm, such bonuses for all amounted to between one third and half of the total cost for actors' salaries (KTA code G2 AA vol 2). A later regulation of 1863 states that 1–2 *riksdaler riksmynt* per act were to be paid as service money (Reglemente, 1863, p. 35). This equals 0.67–1.33 rdb. Since her debut at age nine in 'The Polish Mine' until her departure to Paris in May 1841, Lind appeared 447 times on the Royal Theatre stage (Holmström, 1920, p. 35). During 1837/38, her first season with a proper actress contract, she performed 92 times (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 46). The actual number of performances and acts for 1838–1841 has not been found. But a document in the Royal Theatre archives gives information for the 1840/41 season. Lind then received 663 rdb as service money (KTA code G 6 AB vol 1). A conservative estimation could be that she earned on average 500 rdb annually in such bonuses.

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As a court singer, Lind felt obliged to agree to sing at the coronation festivities for King Oscar I in September 1844. According to Franzén (1982, p. 108), she received 3,000 rdb for three concerts from the court administration. Bulman (1956, p. 76), however, claims a total of ten performances.

	Income		Charity	
	rdb	€ in 2022	rdb	€ in 2022
Contracted income from the Royal Theatre	7,000	113,600		
Compensation for performances >50	4,800	77,900		
Bonus/diligence money	3,000	48,700		
Annual allowances as court singer	1,000	16,200		
Tour of Finland, 1843	667	10,800		
Concert fee King Oscar's coronation	3,000	48,700		
Concert in Uppsala for J. A. Josephson			900	14,600
<i>Total</i>	<i>19,467</i>	<i>315,900</i>	<i>900</i>	<i>14,600</i>

Table 1. Estimated minimum income and charity, 1837–1844.

So far, her income was stable but not remarkably high in comparison with her colleagues at the opera house. During the 1838/39 season, Lind’s income of 700 rdb was only half of what her friend from the opera school Mathilda Gelhaar – six years Lind’s senior – received. Gelhaar remained in Stockholm as the leading soprano when Lind left Sweden. Nevertheless, Lind's income provided the opportunity for financial support to her parents and a few other friends and relatives.

4. Berlin and Vienna, 1844–1846

Giacomo Meyerbeer was the foremost opera composer of the 1830s–1850s. The first performance in 1831 of his *Robert le diable* was one of the most successful events in the history of the Royal Opera in Paris. Meyerbeer refined the *grand opéra* style that had been initiated by Daniel Auber and Gioacchino Rossini. Lind had auditioned privately for Meyerbeer in Paris in June 1842. It is reported that he was enchanted but wanted to hear her in the opera house to check if her voice had sufficient carrying power (Bulman, 1956, p. 50). When Meyerbeer was brought back to his native Berlin as *Generalmusikdirektor* by the new King Frederick William IV in 1842, he was commissioned to compose a new German opera, *Das Feldlager in Schlesien*. He pondered on whom to engage for the leading role as Vielka. Lind’s admirer, the famous author Hans Christian Andersen visited Berlin, met with Meyerbeer, and mentioned his great love of Jenny Lind. Meyerbeer remembered her from the encounter in Paris but was hesitant, as he had not seen her on stage. Andersen reassured him that Lind’s representations were superb. Meyerbeer wrote to Lind and suggested that she join him in Berlin. He created the role of Vielka for her. She was offered a 6,000 Prussian Thaler contract (€218,200) for the winter season of six months (Bulman, 1956, p. 85). She performed 24 times at the opera and gave seven concerts. The

last of the latter was a charity concert for blind soldiers (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 344).

Already during her second performance in the Berlin Opera House, Lind was addressed in her dressing room by Alfred Bunn, the manager of Drury Lane in London. He offered a £40 (€7,900) per performance contract. Lind signed in haste. However, she soon regretted it. A few weeks later, Benjamin Lumley of Her Majesty's Theatre, the Italian opera in London, approached her with a competing offer (Franzén, 1982, p. 119). Obviously, Lind now was a sought-after opera star, as the Parisian *Théâtre-Italien* presented a contract offer, as well. She turned down Paris but kept Lumley in suspense (Franzén, 1982, p. 123).

Lind returned to the Royal Theatre, where she performed twice or three times a week – a total of 15 performances – in May and June of 1845. Her contracted fee was 150 rdb per performance, for a total of 2,250 rdb (€32,800) (Contract, 1845). Before returning to Berlin for the 1845/46 winter season with a 6,300 Prussian Thaler contract, she gave opera performances in Frankfurt, Darmstadt, and Copenhagen. In a 15 October 1845 letter to Munthe from Copenhagen, Lind claims that she enclosed 5,000 rdb (€72,800). The actual source(s) for the income is not specified. Furthermore, it is unlikely that cash money was enclosed. Some kind of bank transfer note is more likely. In this letter, Lind, moreover, gives directives regarding an increased allowance to a Mrs Lund, an old woman admitted to the Sabbatsberg poorhouse. Furthermore, Lind had been approached by brewer Schmiedte, who had been forced into bankruptcy on 12 February 1844.⁶ The loan that Schmiedte proposed was a little too extensive for Lind to decide on at a distance. She asked Munthe to settle the matter after an interview with the unfortunate brewer (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 51).

Lind appeared 28 times at the Berlin Royal Opera between November 1845 and April 1846. Six concerts were held at the royal castle. Among three other concerts was one charity concert for 'some poor families' (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 345). In Berlin, Lind received another proposal from *Théâtre-Italien*, which she again turned down. In January, she performed five times in Weimar. She claims that 'I will probably go to Vienna and in a year from now I will stop' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 52). On 5 February she gave a benefit concert in Leipzig for the musician widows' fund together with her close friend Felix Mendelssohn (Franzén, 1982, pp. 137–139). In a 12 February letter to Munthe, Lind anticipates that she will be able to send 15,000–20,000 *riksdaler riksgäld* (i.e., 10,000–13,333 rdb) as the net income from Berlin (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 56). In a 14 April letter, Lind suggests that she will probably spend her life with Mrs Arnemann and her Swedish husband in Altona⁷ when she, eventually, would settle down. In April,

⁶ http://tidigmodernakonkurser.se/uploads/posts/files/C05A_PDF/SE_SSA_0138_C5a_14_069_067.pdf

⁷ At this time, Altona - neighbouring Hamburg and now an integral part of that city - was part of the Danish Duchy of Holstein and Denmark's second largest city. The Duchy was a member state of the *Deutscher Bund*/German Confederation. Thus, although not a part of the Kingdom of Denmark, it was nevertheless a Danish province. The Duchy was seized by Prussia in the Prusso-Danish War in 1864.

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she sent home 'around 6,300 Prussian Thaler earned in Berlin', and she anticipated that a further 3,000 *riksdaler riksgäld* (2,000 rdb, €28,100) could be sent home from Leipzig that month. She concluded that 'I am doing divinely - no words can describe it'. She describes the following stint in Vienna with the word 'divine', as well. It had been negotiated with the manager of *Theater an der Wien*, Franz Pokorny, at 500 Austrian Gulden per performance (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 349). He had to raise the price of tickets to 8 Gulden from the usual 36 Kreuzer (i.e., 0.60 Gulden). Lind was appalled and wrote to a friend that 'ever since Catalani's time no such thing had been heard of and the audience was furious' (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 372). According to a letter to Munthe, she is, nevertheless, 'happy and satisfied, almost as the Emperor of Austria', and she claims that she had asked a local banker to send 9,000 Austrian Gulden to Stockholm and that this meant that 'during five weeks I have earned just as much as during five months in Berlin' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 58).

	Income	€ in 2022
Contracted income from the Prussian opera 1844–1846	12,300 Pr.T.	422,200
Performances at the Stockholm opera, May-June 1845	2,250 rdb	32,800
Sent to Munthe in October 1845 – probably concert fees	5,000 rdb	72,800
Anticipated income from Leipzig in April 1846	3,000 rdb	28,100
Annual allowances as court singer	600 rdb	8,400
Sent to Munthe from Vienna in May 1846	9,000 Aut. Gd.	appr. 125,000
<i>Total</i>		689,300

Table 2. Estimated minimum income, 1844–1846.

By this time, Lind had become an international opera celebrity. She was, however, not the first. Soprano Angelica Catalani (1779–1849), mentioned in the letter cited above, was one of the greatest bravura singers of all time. She had received a 24,000 *cruzados* contract for one season with the Italian opera in Lisbon at the age of 25. The Grove dictionary (Grove, 1879, pp. 320–322) claims £3,000 as the equivalent amount (€458,900). The Grove dictionary, furthermore, cites an estimation of her income from the King's Theatre in London and provincial concerts during 1807: £16,700 (€2,170,800). Catalani had the opportunity to donate vast sums for charitable purposes. The Grove dictionary estimates that the total sum that Catalani spent on charitable deeds amounted to a total of two million francs (approximately €14 million). Obviously, Lind's aptitude to spend large parts of her income on charity was thus not a novel idea, as it was far from unique.

5. Guest performances in Germany and longer stints in Vienna, 1846/47

After Lind's contract in Vienna ended in May 1846, she toured Germany and sang again in Vienna for almost a year. Thereafter, three concerts were given at the *Niederrheinische Musikfest* in Aachen, one performance in Köln, five opera performances and a concert in Hannover, one concert in Bremen, and a series of guest appearances at the Hamburg Opera. The contracted fee there was 100 *Louis d'or* (2,000 francs⁸) per performance. Lind sang 14 times, which should have resulted in a total revenue of 28,000 francs (€186,800). One concert was given in benefit of the orchestra's pension fund, and another was a charity concert for the poor. In a letter from Hamburg (more particularly Altona-Nienstedten) of 4 July 1846, Lind tells a friend that her nerves were severely affected and that she is determined to leave the stage no later than the following autumn. It seems that Lind was eager to earn as much as possible from her opera career as long as it could last in order to, thereafter, lead a much calmer life with occasional concerts and oratorios. She had begun to become more and more rooted in her Christian faith, and, therefore, she gradually began to hesitate regarding the art of opera. After Hamburg, she had the opportunity to spend four weeks in Cuxhaven, where she would 'really rest and take sea baths' (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, pp. 383, 391, 395, and 397).

After the Cuxhaven holiday, Lind started to register all performances in an '*Annotations-Bok*'. She sang seven times in Frankfurt in September and October 1846. One was a benefit concert for the opera chorus, and another was given for the orchestra. The first brought in 50 *Louis d'or* (€6,700) (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 400).

In a letter to Munthe from Altona-Nienstedten on 13 September 1846, Lind asks questions regarding how her fortune in Stockholm is invested – mortgages or state bonds?

On my last departure from Stockholm, it was not worth the effort to worry about the then fortune. But now I have come a little further and would therefore not be completely unworthy to know who owns my money (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 61).

She furthermore complains that her success sometimes is a bitter pill:

I sometimes experience things from home that really do not sound so particularly friendly, but envy seems to lay there all sorts of seeds for unrest (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 61).

A few days later, Lind sent a letter from Frankfurt asking Munthe to withdraw the will that she had signed at her departure for Paris in 1841. In it her parents were the sole beneficiaries. However, Lind did not trust her parents – especially her father – when it came to money. Now she asks Munthe to formulate a new will in

⁸ According to *Le Dictionnaire de l'Académie française*, 9th edition (<http://www.dictionnaire-academie.fr>), a *Louis d'or* was the same as 20 francs during the nineteenth century.

which her parents were 'never to get more of my estate than they barely need'. The farmhouse in Sollentuna north of Stockholm was leased – not bought – from 1843, and Lind concluded that in this way they could not dispose of the property as if they had owned it (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 62; Berghem, 2018, p. 7). The futures of her maids and old friends Louise Johansson (later Mrs Celsing) and Annette Bergman were to be secured, as well.

After Frankfurt, Lind gave three opera performances in Darmstadt. One concert was given there for the benefit of a musician's son who needed resources to develop his talent. Six performances were then given in Munich, plus a benefit concert for the local orchestra.

In a letter from Stuttgart dated 13 November 1846, Lind complains that her parents were asking for large sums. She had, without informing Munthe, sent her mother 500 rdb for the extra costs for furnishing the new home. Her father had been given 200 rdb and a cousin, Victor Perman, who was to be married 300 rdb. The answer from the parents was 'we now need yet a few hundred *riksdaler*' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 62). Munthe was asked to give them a final non-recurring amount of 200 rdb. In the same letter, Lind informs Munthe that she – on Mendelssohn's advice in his letter of 12 October (Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, pp. 407-409) – had accepted a contract for April–August 1847 at Her Majesty's Theatre. It had been signed in Frankfurt during the intermission of a performance of Donizetti's *La fille du régiment* on 2 October. She was to receive £4,800 (€801,800) plus a furnished house, a carriage, and a pair of horses (Dunsmure, 2015, p. 115; Holland and Rockstro, 1891a, p. 411, claim 120,000 francs – the contemporary equivalent of £4,800; Lind informed Munthe of 140,000 francs: Dahlgren, 1928, p. 65).

Lind performed five times in the Stuttgart Opera House. She furthermore gave a concert at the royal palace, where she was given a precious bracelet. There was a charity concert for the poor, as well. Her singing collected 'approximately 2,400 kronor'⁹ (€22,200) for them (Holland and Rockstro, 1891b, p. 13). After Stuttgart, Lind made shorter stops in Karlsruhe, Mannheim, Nürnberg, Augsburg and Munich, before spending a more extended period in Vienna. According to her own *Annotations-Bok*, she gave 23 performances at the opera house. If the financial conditions were the same as the previous year – 500 Austr. Gulden per performance – she would have gained 11,500 Austr. Gulden (appr. €157,000). As usual, she also appeared without fee at six concerts for someone's benefit, once for the orchestra and once for the *Bürgerspital*. After her last performance at the Vienna Opera House on 6 April 1847, she was called on stage 19 times.

The revenues from most performances and concerts in Germany during 1846/47 are not known. Hence, the total income indicated in Table 3 is certainly much too low. The same goes for the money Lind contributed to charity.

⁹ The krona currency was introduced in 1873. Hence, it is unclear how Holland and Rockstro calculated this amount.

	Income	€ in 2022	Charity	€ in 2022
Hamburg Opera, July 1846	28,000 francs	186,800		
Guest performances in Frankfurt, Darmstadt, München, Stuttgart	unknown			
Concert for the opera chorus in Frankfurt			50 Louis d'or	6,700
Concert for the poor in Stuttgart			2,400 kronor	22,200
Vienna Opera. Spring 1847 (500 Austrian Gulden per performance)	11,500 Aut. Gd.	157,000		
<i>Total</i>		<i>343,800</i>		<i>2,900</i>

Table 3. Germany and Vienna, 1846/47.

6. Her Majesty's Theatre, 1847–1850

Alfred Bunn, who had signed a contract with Lind for his Drury Lane theatre, of course, contested her contract with Lumley. Finally, in February 1848, the court case was closed. Bunn was granted a compensation of £2,500 (*€456,000*) from Lind. Lumley offered to pay. Lind accepted reluctantly. By then, Lumley knew that Lind was a smash hit with the Brits. She had made her London debut on 4 May 1847. She had been intensely insecure and extremely nervous before meeting the audience in the city new to her. Lind turned out to be just as successful in London as in Berlin and Vienna, maybe even more so, as London was struck by a huge 'Lindomania'. Lind sang 35 times at Her Majesty's Theatre until the season ended on 21 August. According to the contract with Lumley, no other engagements were allowed, with the exception of concerts demanded by the court.

After her contracted season at Her Majesty's Theatre, Lind gave 22 concerts during August and September in the British provinces for a fee of £500 each. Before returning to the Royal Theatre in Stockholm, she sang in Berlin and Hamburg.

From December 1847 until mid-April 1848, Lind performed 34 times at the Royal Theatre in Stockholm, and she sang in many concerts (Dorph, 1918, pp. 40–41). She worked hard to earn as much as possible. She wanted to create a fund for the establishment of a school for poor children who had 'excellent aptitude for the stage'. This she stated in a declaration in a local newspaper, *Aftonbladet*, on 2 December 1847, in order to justify the much higher than usual ticket prices. When Lind left Stockholm, Munthe received 22,000 rdb (*€323,900*) to administer according to her wish.¹⁰ According to another newspaper, *Post- och*

¹⁰ In 1860 the fund was reshaped to provide travel grants for 'young musicians, painters, sculptors and architects'. When Jenny visited Stockholm the last time in 1876, she decided the objective that still applies, namely education grants. Half of the then 83,500 kronor fund was given to the Royal Swedish Academy of Music and the other half to the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts. They provide grants to this day.

Inrikes Tidningar, on 27 April 1848, Lind had previously paid 'partly gratuities, partly travel grants to several people, whom Demoiselle Lind considered deserving of sympathy and support with a total of 4,830 rdb' (€71,100). Tägil (2020, p. 254) mentions money to the pension funds of the Artists' Guild and the 'court' (i.e., Royal Theatre) orchestra, the Royal Theatre engineers, the church hall of the institute for the deaf-mute and blind, and to several musician friends.

If the financial conditions were the same as before, her second season at Her Majesty's Theatre in London would have brought in at least £4,800/120,000 francs (€875,400). On 31 July 1848, Lind gave a charity concert for the Hospital for Consumption and Disease of the Chest in London (now Royal Brompton Hospital). *The Times* of 5 August 1848 estimated £1,800 as the financial support that the concert provided (also Bulman, 1956, p. 197). Two weeks later, Lind wrote that she had given £1,000 'to people who needed my help and whom I neither *could* nor *wanted* to refuse assistance' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 87). The autumn was, like the preceding, spent giving concerts in the British provinces. Lind managed to perform 35 such concerts. If the fee was the same as before, she should have brought in £17,500 (€3,191,600). However, both Dunsmure (2015, p. 64) and Franzén (1982, p. 81) report a revenue of substantially less: £10,000 (€1,823,800). The tour ended on 4 December in Leeds, where Lind gave a concert for the benefit of the local orchestra. It raised £640, or £36 for every member (Bulman, 1956, p. 203).

After the extended tour, Lind returned to London, where she remained until October 1849. She wrote to Munthe that she had given four concerts for hospitals, which had returned a total of £5,000 (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 89). Ware and Lockard (1966, p. 64) and Bulman (1956, p. 211) claim a total of £10,000 for good causes during nine weeks. Bulman (1956, pp. 207-209) provides details. In December 1848, a concert given for the establishment of the Mendelssohn Foundation brought in £1,000. The first scholarship was awarded to Arthur Sullivan. Later in the month, two concerts were given for the benefit of the Manchester Royal Infirmary, providing £2,500, and another for Queen's College Hospital in Birmingham, bringing in more than £1,000. In January 1849, a concert for the Southern and Toxteth Hospital in Liverpool gave £1,400, which was used to extend the building with an extra floor. While in Norwich, Lind gave two charity concerts, which provided £1,253. She suggested that she should put herself in the marketplace and throw the money to the poor. Others suggested building a wash house. A few years later, it was decided that the money should be used for the establishment of the Jenny Lind Infirmary for Sick Children (England, 2022). Later in the spring, Lind sang in Worcester, where she brought in £840 for the infirmary.

A performance of Haydn's *Die Schöpfung* was held at Exeter Hall in aid of five more important charities before Lind finally agreed to sing again at Lumley's Her Majesty's Theatre. He had run into financial difficulties as a result of her decision not to accept a third season. However, she decided to perform a final six times for

her friend Lumley. The *Robert le diable* on 10 May 1849 became Lind's last ever opera performance after 11 active years (Ware and Lockard, 1966, p. 64).¹¹ Lind was severely exhausted, and her broken engagement to a Captain Harris in Bath strained her nerves. On doctor's order, she spent several months in spa resorts. In Merano, Lind got a first offer to tour the US. In October, she was fit to agree to sing a few concerts in Hamburg and Berlin. In a 7 January 1850 letter to Munthe, Lind writes that her acquaintance in London, Mr Grote, had sent £4,000 to Stockholm. Lind asks about her fortune, as she had plans to move to England (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 89).

While staying at the Hotel du Nord in Lübeck, Lind signed a contract with the (in)famous Phineas T. Barnum, represented by his agent, Mr Wilton, on 9 January 1850 (Maude, 1927, p. 149). In a 14 March 1850 letter to Munthe, Lind writes: 'My engagement for America is: 150 concerts, all expenses covered and £30,000 - and it could be more'. £200 per concert was her interpretation of \$1,000 (£35,300) (Lind, 1850a; Barnum, 1855, pp. 299-302, provides the full contract). She wrote to a friend in Berlin that it would have been wrong to decline it, and 'since I have no greater wish than to make a large amount of money in order to found schools in Sweden, I cannot help looking upon this journey to America as a gracious answer to my prayer to Heaven!' (Ware and Lockard, 1966, p. 73).

Before the Barnum tour, Lind continued to give concerts, mainly for charity, in Hannover, Oldenburg, Brunswick, Dresden and Hamburg, but she turned down several offers from Berlin as she deemed them 'shamelessly' generous. Nevertheless, she later agreed to sing in Berlin: one concert for the poor and another for a sick actor (Dunsmure, 2015, pp. 74-75). In the early summer, she gave six concerts in the Stockholm Opera House for the Royal Theatre's benefit. It was on King Oscar I's command, as were two concerts at the wedding of Crown Prince Charles. The fee¹² for the eight concerts was given to the sickness and funeral fund of the theatre's tailoring department (Maude, 1927, p. 154). Later that summer, Lind gave two concerts for the benefit of musician friends in

¹¹ Jenny's daughter Jenny Maude (1927, p. 123) reports that her mother had performed on the opera stage a total of 677 times. The most frequent were *La sonnambula* (98 times), Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor* (78 times), Bellini's *Norma* (75 times), and Meyerbeer's *Robert le diable* (73 times). The rest were divided among 26 other operas.

Mr Lumley instead managed to engage another renowned soprano and a precursor of Jenny in the previous generation, Countess Rossi (formerly Mademoiselle Henriette Sontag), for the 1849 summer season. The agreed fee was £6,000. After 21 years off stage, the countess made a new debut on 7 July. Jenny felt relieved and wrote to Lumley: 'A heavy weight is gone from me. I now can with all truth tell myself that not alone my presence is now not the slightest necessary, but much better supplied'. Countess Rossi was the main star also of the 1850 summer season at Her Majesty's Theatre (Lumley, 1864, pp. 249, 250 and 273).

¹² Maude, or her translator, writes that the fee was 1,000 kronor. However, the krona did not become the Swedish currency until 1873. The currency in 1850 was *riksdaler banco*/rdb. A krona was equal to 2/3 of an rdb. If the fee was 667 or if Maude wrongly assessed 1,000 rdb is not known. The latter amount is used in Table 4.

Bremen and Baden-Baden. Finally, before embarking on the paddle steamer *Atlantic* for the US, she, on a memorable night in Liverpool on 19 August, made a huge success in Handel's *Messiah*. Ware and Lockard (1966, p. 80) note that "'I Know That My Redeemer Liveth'" has become a byword for Jenny Lind until this day'. The concert, like the one a few days earlier, was for the benefit of the funding of a new hall for the Philharmonic Society (Maude, 1927, p. 156). It had been opened a year before, but the society, for several years, had problems with paying the mortgages.

From Liverpool, Lind communicated with Munthe regarding her will. She wanted Munthe to delete a clause in her previous will to give money to the Royal Theatre in Stockholm, as the art of 'theatre will more or less always educate people to frivolity and carelessness'. She was now more inclined to give money to 'schools and competent teachers' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 111).

	Income		Charity	
	£	€ in 2022	€	€ in 2022
Her Majesty's Theatre, London, summer season 1847,	£4,800	801,800		
Autumn tour of Britan 1847, 22 concerts	£11,000	1,837,400		
Performances in Stockholm, Dec 1847–April 1848			22,000 rdb	323,900
Further gratuities and travel grants in Stockholm			4,830 rdb	71,100
Her Majesty's Theatre, London, summer season 1848	£4,800	875,400		
Benefit concert for the Royal Brompton Hospital, July 1848			£1,800	328,300
August 1848, support to people in need			£1,000	182,400
Autumn tour of Britan 1848, 35 concerts	£10,000	1,823,800		
Benefit concert in Leeds, December 1848			£640	116,700
Concerts for good causes, December 1848 – January 1849			£10,000	1,836,700
Fee from concerts in Stockholm, summer 1850			667 rdb	9,900
<i>Total</i>		<i>5,338,400</i>		<i>2,869,000</i>

Table 4. England and Stockholm, 1847–1850.

7. America, 1850/51

Barnum took a huge risk, as he had never heard Lind sing. But a few years after the tour, he recalls that

although I relied prominently upon Jenny Lind's reputation as a great musical *artiste*, I also took largely into my estimate of her success with all classes of the American public, her character for extraordinary benevolence and generosity. (Barnum, 1855, p. 307)

Barnum hoped that a Jenny Lind tour of North America could 'remake his image from humbug to serious promoter of the arts' (Kunhardt, 1995, p. 88). The press thought of Barnum and Lind as an odd coupling. Lind's captivating personality

was contrasted to Barnum's cunning marketing methods. One anonymous 'authoress' described Lind as a "jewel" hung in a swine's snout' (Linkon, 1998).

Before Lind's arrival in New York City Barnum had supplied press releases to newspapers all over the country with flattering descriptions of her artistic capacity and outstanding personality. At one point he had employed 26 pressmen for this task (Gallagher, 1995, p. 192). Early in the tour, newspapers contributed to the Lind hype. The *New York Herald* of 6 September 1850 described Lind as

the most popular woman in the world, at this moment - perhaps the most popular that ever was in it is Jenny Lind. Other women have been favorites with a portion, and even a majority, of the public: she appears to be a favorite with all. (Chubowski 2020)

Prior to the arrival, Barnum had, as another marketing effort, announced a song lyrics competition in the press. The winner would receive \$200 and the lyrics were to be set to music by Julius Benedict, the conductor for Lind's tour, and to be sung by Lind. Among a few hundred submissions *Greeting to America* by the young poet Bayard Taylor was selected. Barnum's choice of ticket auctions and his support of Lind's charitable donations will be described below. They were part of his marketing work, as well.

Barnum and many others tried to commodify the Lind persona:

And then there was the merchandising - it seems everyone tried to cash in on the sensation by selling Jenny Lind clothing, accessories, tonics, cosmetics, furniture, new varieties of garden melons, sheet music for her signature songs, and much more. (Chubowski, 2020)

The tour of America was a huge success already before the first concert. An immense crowd of 'some thirty or forty thousand people' met her when she disembarked at New York Harbour (Rosenberg, 1851, p. 9). The auction of tickets for the premiere in Castle Garden yielded huge bids. Mr Genin, a hatter, bought the very first ticket for the price of \$225 (€7,900).¹³ The box office revenue for the first concert totalled \$17,864.05 (€630,327) (Barnum, 1855, p. 318). Barnum offered Lind an even more favourable contract. Apart from the guaranteed \$1,000 (€35,300) per concert, Lind was now to get half of the box office revenue surpassing \$5,500. She was allowed to finish the tour after 60 concerts but in that case would only get the guaranteed \$1,000 per concert. If she should wish to stop the tour after 100 concerts, the limit for her half of the revenues would be raised to \$6,000. Lind writes to Munthe: 'Rarely will we do any concert under \$10,000. So far the income has alternated between 12, 14 and 16,000 so that my share of the six concerts is about \$30,000 [€1,059,000]' (Lind, 1850b; Dahlgren, 1928, p. 113).

Rosenberg (1851, pp. 25-26) reports from the first New York concert on 11 September that Lind 'left the stage for the last time this evening, wearied out, yet

¹³ The highest auction price during the full tour was accepted by a Col. William C. Ross for the Providence concert. He paid \$630 (€21,800) (Barnum, 1855, p. 343).

delighted with a success so magnificently beyond any that had yet greeted a vocalist in America'. Barnum went on stage, and 'the brief speech which he then made, has so completely run the rounds of the whole American press, that it would be useless here to recapitulate it'. He 'felt compelled to disregard the fact that Mademoiselle Lind had herself begged him not to mention on this evening one of her own noble and spontaneous deeds of beneficence'. Her share of the proceeds was expected to be around \$10,000 (also Dorph, 1918, p. 103). She gave this to charitable purposes (Table 5). 'Three enthusiastic cheers were then given for the fair Swede, and three more for Barnum'. Lind had decided on the receivers of donations on the advice of Mayor Woodhull (Barnum, 1855, p. 313). As Lind's proceeds at the first concert did not actually amount to \$10,000, Barnum graciously agreed to share in two halves the revenues from the first two concerts – the second bringing in \$14,203.03. So, the first concert to follow the contractual provisions was the third, which the parties called 'the first regular concert' (Barnum, 1855, p. 318).

	\$ in 1850	€ in 2022
Fire Department Fund	3,000	105,900
Musical Society Fund	2,000	70,600
Home for the Friendless	500	17,650
Society for the Relief of Indigent Females	500	17,650
Dramatic Association Fund	500	17,650
Home for Colored and Aged Persons	500	17,650
Colored and Orphan Asylum	500	17,650
Lying-in Asylum for Destitute Females	500	17,650
New York Orphan Asylum	500	17,650
Protestant Orphan Asylum	500	17,650
Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum	500	17,650
Old Ladies' Asylum	500	17,650
<i>Total</i>	<i>10,000</i>	<i>353,000</i>

Table 5. Donations to charitable purposes from the proceeds of the first American concert, 11 September 1850.

A month later, on 8 November, Lind writes again to Munthe: 'I hope that the Court of Appeal Judge [i.e., Munthe], when reading this, has long since collected the \$40,000 that I sent... In a week I will send a further reinforcement of, I presume, \$25,000 or, more likely, \$30,000' (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 114). In the long and touching letter, which contains a number of directives concerning financial support for her parents and other people in Stockholm, she comments:

It is a great joy and the Lord's gift to be able to earn so much money and then help our fellowmen. This is the highest joy I desire in life. Everything else has disappeared from the motley path of my earthly life. However, few know what a comfortable and quiet inner life I lead, few know how infinitely little the world and its pomp has managed to intoxicate my mind! Herring and potatoes, a clean wooden chair and ditto wooden spoon to eat milk porridge with, are what could make me a child and make me jump for joy. (Lind, 1850c; Dahlgren, 1928, p. 114)

After 93 concerts and 12 concerts for charity not in the contract, Lind decided to end the business relationship with Barnum. Although it is reported that they parted amiably, Lind had been extremely hesitant towards the way Barnum had handled the business. She was not used to the marketing methods of the new world, which in part, at least in terms of the show business, possibly had been created by Barnum himself. Barnum, too, was relieved to have the contract terminated. Afterwards he confessed that

from the first concert on the 11th of September, 1850, until the ninety-third concert on the 9th of June, 1851, (a space of nine months), I did not know a waking moment that was entirely free from oppressive anxiety (Barnum, 1855, p. 315).

As Lind decided not to fulfil the contracted 150 concerts, she was obliged to accept an indemnity to Barnum of \$32,000. Nevertheless, her total income was \$176,675.09 (*€5,883,300*) (Maude, 1927, pp. 176–177). Barnum (1855, p. 343) provides all the details regarding the net income from the various concerts that were produced (see Table 6).

	No. of concerts	\$ in 1850-1851	€ in 2022
New York	35	286,216.64	9,531,000
Philadelphia	8	48,884.41	1,627,900
Boston	7	70,388.16	2,343,900
Providence	1	6,525.54	217,300
Baltimore	4	32,001.88	1,065,700
Washington D.C.	2	15,385.60	512,300
Richmond	1	12,385.21	412,400
Charleston	2	10,428.75	347,300
Havanna	3	10,436.04	347,500
New Orleans	12	87,646.12	2,918,600
Nantchez	1	5,000.00	166,500
Memphis	1	4,539.56	151,200
St. Louis	5	30,613.67	1,019,400
Nashville	2	12,034.30	400,700
Louisville	3	19,429.50	647,000
Madison	1	3,693.25	123,000
Cincinanti	5	44,342.13	1,476,600
Wheeling	1	5,000.00	166,500
Pittsburgh	1	7,210.58	240,100
<i>Total</i>	<i>95</i>	<i>712,161.34</i>	<i>23,715,000</i>
Barnum's share	75 %	535,486.25	17,831,700
Lind's share	25 %	176 675,09	5,883,300

Table 6. Net revenues from the Barnum tour.

Rosenberg has the most detailed rendering of what Lind gave to charitable purposes during the Barnum tour. He concludes that ‘unexampled as these have been in the lives of any of those geniuses who have stood forth in their peculiar callings, to enchant a gazing and listening world, I may safely say, that little more than half of them can possibly be known to the public... she stands completely alone; and it will be long ere we again receive on these shores one marked with

'I am doing divinely': Jenny Lind's financial legacy

the same excellencies, and characterized by the same virtues' (Rosenberg, 1851, p. 225). Table 7 shows what Rosenberg did know regarding Lind's charity.

	\$ in 1850-1851	€ in 2022
New York	10,000	333,000
Boston	7,255	241,600
Philadelphia	3,000	99,900
New York	5,073	168,900
Richmond	1,200	40,000
Charleston	3,440	114,600
Havanna	4,500	148,900
New Orleans	4,800	159,900
St. Louis	2,000	66,600
Cincinnati	3,000	99,900
Baltimore	3,700	123,200
Philadelphia	5,042	167,900
<i>Total</i>	<i>53,010</i>	<i>1,764,400</i>

Table 7. Jenny Lind's donations for charitable purposes during the Barnum tour of America, September 1850–May 1851

Keith S. Hambrick (1981) provides the details regarding the New Orleans donations, Table 8.

	Dollars
Seaman's Home	1,000
Fireman's Charitable Association	1,000
Catholic Boys' Orphan Asylum, 3d Municipality	500
Catholic Girls' Orphan Asylum, Camp Street	500
Society for the Relief of Indigent Widows	500
Seamen's Bethel	300
Boys' Orphan Asylum, Lafayette	300
La Societe des Dames de la Providence	300
German Society	300
Poor Blind Boy	100
<i>Total</i>	<i>4,800</i>

Table 8. Donations to charitable purposes from the proceeds of the New Orleans concert, 24 February 1851.

Lind was approached through both visits and letters by individuals asking for financial aid. The actual sum of what she gave them is not known, but Barnum (1855, p. 318) recalls:

I knew of many instances in which she gave sums of money to applicants, varying in amount from \$20, \$50, \$500, to \$1,000, and in one instance \$5,000, to a Swedish friend; and none but 'He who seeth in secret', knows the extent of her benevolence.

During her visit to America, Lind also sent several letters to Munthe with details regarding financial support of her parents, other relatives, and old acquaintances (Dahlgren, 1928, pp. 115–134).

After the collaboration with Barnum had ceased, Lind ventured on an extended tour produced by herself and her cousin and business partner Max Hjortzberg. He had accompanied Lind all through the Barnum tour. He had been naggingly questioning Barnum. It is obvious from his memoirs that the latter considered Hjortzberg a truly intrusive nuisance.

This post-Barnum tour was carried out at a much slower pace. In a letter to Munthe, Lind claims:

The pleasure of my being separated from Mr. Barnum is so great on the part of the audience that it is as gratifying for me as an individual to see such trust and participation, as it is awfully little flattering for Mr. Barnum to see himself so little trusted and liked. (Dahlgren, 1928, p. 124)

On Lind's insistence, ticket prices were radically reduced. However, unfortunately no records have been found regarding revenues from the 40 concerts that were given in 17 cities, among which were Columbus (Ohio), Buffalo, and Toronto (Maude, 1827, p. 176). Bulman (1956, pp. 283–284) claims that they did not achieve the same success as those during the Barnum regime. She even concludes that 'she had stayed too long, and had caught the second swing of the pendulum'. However, 'she left a legend, and the tour passed into history... Now the trail was blazed, other great artists followed to the new world'.

Lind was now accompanied by Otto Goldschmidt of Hamburg, whom she had met in Germany through their mutual friend Felix Mendelssohn. Their friendship deepened and developed into love. They were married in Boston on 5 February 1852. Lind held on tight to her fortune. Before the wedding, she wrote their prenuptial agreement, which suggested that a part of the means that she had acquired before the marriage were to be regarded as her separate and singularly owned property. However, the larger part of her belongings would form a common capital for which her husband was to prove himself a skilled and faithful trustee (Maude, 1927, p. 181). A year later, Lind writes in a letter to J. A. Josephson:

He is immensely proper in all business, exact and careful, and I have already gained much through his example; I who had so become accustomed to waste and discard God's gifts and that is, among the other sins that inflict on us, a particularly dangerous and wicked one. (Norlind, 1920, p. 187)

On 29 May 1852, the newlyweds left America for Europe on the same boat that had taken Lind and her entourage to New York almost two years before. Tägil (2020, pp. 322–323) summarises:

The visit to the other side of the ocean became the culmination of Jenny's career, which then slowly levelled off as she increasingly stepped back from the limelight to devote herself to family life... Madame Goldschmidt, as she was officially called after the marriage, did not attract the same attention as Jenny Lind had done. Jenny did not miss it.

In the letter from 15 February 1853 to Josephson, Lind praises America, even to a level where she, when pondering her future residence, contemplates America as

an alternative to Sweden and England. Two days later, she is in the same favourable mood in a letter to Joseph Burke, her concert master and violin soloist during most of the Barnum tour (Lind, 1853):

I very often think of America; it is the New World – that is true. There is active life, and room to take breath in. Europe is old, quite a grandmother to the rest of the world. Here are thousands of beautiful things certainly, and life in Europe is rich and full of art and poetry. But except England, there is great infidelity – great want of moral activity.

8. Jenny Lind as Mrs Goldschmidt, 1852–1887

On their return from America, the Goldschmidts settled in Dresden. In September 1853, Lind gave birth to her first son, Walter. She continued to sing – mostly accompanied by her husband – but she did so much more selectively. Very often her performances were for some charitable purpose. She gave six sold-out concerts in Vienna in March 1854. They were followed by two more concerts there; as usual, it was 'for the poor'. While there, she was invited to sing in London. She declined, as she wanted to have a proper summer holiday at a seaside resort. The autumn of 1854 was spent mostly in her home in Dresden, followed by a tour of Germany and the Netherlands. In the latter country, many concerts were for charity. During her holiday stay in Vevey (Switzerland) in October 1855, Lind promised to give a charity concert. Unfortunately, it had to be cancelled due to her sore throat. Instead, she simply donated 2,000 francs to the poor.

The offer to sing in England was renewed, and Lind went there in November 1855. After several concerts in London, a tour of the British provinces began. In May she returned to London, where she performed until the end of July. One of the concerts was for the Florence Nightingale Fund for the training of nurses. It brought in £1,872 (*€ 226,400*) (Bulman, 1956, p. 296; Dunsmure, 2015, p. 224). The season in Britain was regarded as extremely profitable also for Lind herself. It was reported that Lind's income had been £80,000 (*€9,675,200*) (Norlind, 1920, p. 198; Bulman, 1956, p. 296). It was a record level for one season. Paganini had previously only made £50,000. Lind was exhausted and spent the autumn recovering in German resorts.

Due to the birth of her daughter – also called Jenny – in the beginning of 1857, she came to work more sporadically during 1857 and 1858. Nevertheless, Lind performed in Halle (for the benefit of the Handel statue), Dresden, Prague, Breslau (now Wrocław), Königsberg (now Kaliningrad), Danzig (now Gdańsk), and Posen (now Poznań).

In October 1858, the Goldschmidt family moved to London. Lind's concert calendar was much sparser than before. But she did sing in carefully selected concerts and oratorios. To pay for the furniture in a new home near Wimbledon Common, Lind gave concerts in all the principal towns of Ireland in the spring of 1859. It brought in £2,000 (*€289,700*) (Bulman, 1956, p. 300).

Due to the birth of her second son, Ernest, in January 1861, concert-giving became subordinate to domestic life. Lind's many biographers do shed light on her later years, but with no references to money earned from music-making.

Munthe remained Lind's trustee of the capital she had in Stockholm until his death in 1880. He was her local agent when she in 1868 applied for the right of her husband to possess real estate property in Sweden. The property in question belonged to an ironworks company that had gone bankrupt. The request was accepted by the government. We must assume that it was Lind's money that was used for this purpose (Borgkvist Ljung, 2011).

9. Will and estate

Jenny Lind-Goldschmidt died on 2 November 1887. *The Musical Times* of 1 March 1888 provides the details regarding her last will and her estate. The total value of the estate was £40,630, 13 shillings and 8 pence (€6,221,200).

Money was held in three 'funds'. Two were founded through the prenuptial agreement. The 'private fund' constituted the part that Lind kept for herself at the marriage, namely \$100,000 (Will, 1886) along with what was left from the deposition that Lind had made in May 1848 in the hands of Munthe (who at the time of the new and final will was deceased). That sum, 22,000 rdb, had now grown to 375,000 kronor. However, a large part had been donated earlier, see below. Hence, this 'private fund' held an estimated value in the will of 400,000 kronor (€3,369,700). A portion of the private fund had been transferred by Lind to the trustees of the marriage of her son Walter; another portion had been invested in the property called Wynd's Point at Malvern and the remainder consisted of the investments listed in Table 9.

	£
Boston City Burnt District loan due 1893	3,000
Massachussetts 5% loan payable 188-1889	2,300
Norwegian 4.5%	2,200
East India Railway annuity class B for £60	1,500
Christiania Twon 4.5%, Hamburg loan 1877	1,460
Stockholm Loan Association Bonds 4.5%	3,150
<i>Total</i>	<i>13,610</i>

Table 9. Investments of part of the 'private fund'.

The 'common fund' was the residual part that she shared with her husband. The 'joint fund' mentioned in the will derived from joint earnings of her husband and herself during their marriage. *The Musical Times* writes about this 'joint fund': 'although his by law, [the fund] at his desire [was] settled as to one moiety, or not less than £15,000, to her appointment'.

Lind appointed her husband and two other gentlemen as trustees of the private fund.

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Bequeathed to	Item/amount
King Oscar II of Sweden	a painting: 'The Inundation'
Mrs Victor Benecke (Marie – Mendelssohn's daughter)	a portrait of Mendelssohn
Victor Francis Maude, Jenny's grandson	a book cabinet given to Jenny by the New York Fire Companies
The Royal Museum in Stockholm	medals struck in her honour and her Zeraphine-medal
From the 'private fund':	
Otto Goldschmidt, her husband	the Goldschmidt home Wynd's Point
Otto Goldschmidt	£150 annually
Jenny Maude, daughter	£400
Josephina Åhmansson, friend and former travel companion	1,300 (€11,000) kronor annually
Mrs (Anna Elisabeth) Perman (widow after Jenny's cousin)	150 kronor annually
Amelia Perman	200 kronor annually
Louisa Strömberg	100 kronor annually
Louisa Celsing, friend and former travel companion	300 kronor annually
Sophia Kedzie, Jenny's maid	£60 (€9,200) annually
University of Uppsala	50,000 kronor (€423,100) for the Erik Gustaf Geijer Stipend to poor students
University of Lund	50,000 kronor (€423,100) for the Bishop Esaias Tegnér Stipend to poor clergy students (Protestant Church)
A children's hospital in Stockholm	the residue
From the 'common fund':	
The children Walter and Otto Goldschmidt and Jenny Maude	one third each
From the 'joint fund':	
The children had previously got	£5,000 each
Otto Goldschmidt, her husband	the residue

Table 10. The testament provisions.

The fund that was created in the spring of 1848 and held by Munthe in Stockholm was initially worth 22,000 kronor (€323,900). During a visit to her native city in 1876, Lind saw to it that the fund, which at that time held 83,403 kronor (€555,500), was donated with one half to the Royal Swedish Academy of Music and the other half to the Royal Swedish Academy of Fine Arts. When the annual return on their respective capitals had amounted to 3,000 kronor (€20,000), they each were to provide grants to young musicians, painters, sculptors, and architects. What was then given to the chosen recipients was, due to subsequent inflation, worth substantially more than nowadays. The first recipient of the Royal Swedish Academy of Music grant, pianist and composer Valborg Aulin, was awarded the stipulated 3,000 kronor in 1886. It was equivalent to approximately 200,000 kronor in 2022. The receiver of the Jenny Lind Award of 2020, soprano Tessa Maria Lehmussaari, was provided only 60,000 kronor.

10. Discussion

The total income from Tables 1–4 and 6 above plus what we know of incomes from her post-Barnum years has been calculated to a present value of €22,765,000. This figure includes the contracted compensation for most opera performance periods and concert tours. To what has been found regarding Lind's income should be added unknown incomes that do not appear in any of the referenced sources. Such income mostly derived from single or a few days of guest appearances in European cities. The sources inform of a present value of donations for charity from concerts at approximately €2 million. Lind, furthermore, gave financial support from what she earned to her parents, other relatives, friends, people in need, hospitals, and institutions for the poor.

Of course, part of her income had to be used for the usual cost of living. We know very little regarding her expenses. We do know, however, that Lind was a woman who did not seek any extravagances. For instance, her daughter reports that Lind did not dress particularly well and in her choice of fabrics saw more to quality than appearance (Maude, 1927, p. 217).

As mentioned in footnote 2, the present real value of Lind's total income noted in the tables above would amount to 30 times as much – circa \$700 million (currently almost the same in €) – as the absolute value.

The Associated Press has found documents relating to Michael Jackson's property, dating from 2007 (two years before his death), which indicate a net worth of Jackson's estate at \$236,600,000 (€240,472,000) (*The Guardian*, 2009) – 40 times as much as the calculated present *absolute* value of Lind's estate. Whitney Houston's estate had a substantially lower value at her death in 2012: \$20 million (*The Things*, 2020). A list of the top ten richest female singers in the world in 2022 gives Rihanna as no. 1 with a net worth of \$1,7 billion, Madonna comes next with \$560 million and Taylor Swift is no. 3 with \$550 million.¹⁴ With Edvinsson's present *real* value estimation – the \$700 million – Lind would be included among the top ten, as well.

During Lind's lifetime currencies were practically always and everywhere based on the gold or silver supply that countries held in their central banks. This gold standard has now been abandoned for the *fiat* currency standard (from the Latin 'let it be done'), where money lacks backing in any other, more or less stable, commodity. In short, fiat money is worth what it claims to be worth due to the trust that money markets put in central banks and governments. Supposedly, the gold standard put limits to what people could earn, limits that are not as rigorous in the fiat money societies of today. The money supply that central banks – and frequently also other financial institutes – could provide was held back. If we take Lind's native Sweden as an example, the CPI-adjusted total amount of money in possession of the public in 1850 was 6% of what was possessed by Swedes in 2012 (Edvinsson and Öberg, 2012, Table II.A7.3 – M0 column). Lind's possibilities for

¹⁴ <https://richestinfo.com/richest-female-singers-world/>

revenues should be viewed in relation to the money supply available in societies in the 1800s. Global artist celebrities of today may be more in number and earn more due to the growth of the economies and money supplies. Maybe, strictly financially, there was then room for only one global musical celebrity. She was our Jenny Lind.

Performing rights for artists were introduced in France after the *Bourget v. Morel* case in Parisian courts in 1847–1849 (Albinsson, 2014). It took several decades before they began to be introduced in other countries. They were codified in the Berne Convention that was effective in a few signing countries from around the time of Lind's death in 1887. Legal frameworks of today safeguard the rights not only for composers and lyricists but also for 'neighbouring copyright owners'. Among them are performing artists for their recordings. If Lind had lived today, her income would have been substantially augmented in this way, and we would have had the opportunity to enjoy her artistry. The music of Michael Jackson and Whitney Houston is, unlike Lind's, still bringing in royalty money to their heirs.

Another technological invention, apart from recording facilities, is the electric amplification of sound. At the first concert in New York City, Lind sang for 5,000 spectators in Castle Garden (Barnum, 1855, p. 314). So, in a hall with suitable acoustics, this was, and still is, possible without microphones, at least for a competent singer like Lind. However, the huge arena concerts for 50,000 spectators and more of our time are not possible without amplification. Had this opportunity been available for Lind, she could have been able to satisfy the New York demand much faster – instead of the 35 concerts that she gave there – and thereby have opportunities for more appearances elsewhere, maybe for just as huge revenues from arena concert ticket buyers in such other cities.

Antoine Lilti (2017, p. 50) describes how the English actor David Garrick (1717–1779) created himself as the 'first media personality' and as an international celebrity. He took advantage of the infant but thriving newspaper business. A necessary condition was the growth of public literacy. Lind, too, benefited from this media expansion. She had reservations regarding the media coverage that Barnum so cleverly enticed. Still, her huge income from the collaboration with him had his PR genius as a prerequisite.

Apart from the financial legacy that still operates from scholarship funds and her donations to various charitable purposes, Jenny Lind is also remembered today through towns, villages, suburbs, and streets named after her. In her native Sweden, we find a tram in Gothenburg bearing her name. In the same city, we find the portrait-like Jenny Lind figurehead from the shipwrecked American clipper *The Nightingale*. Another ship, the Australian schooner *Jenny Lind*, was shipwrecked, too, and the place of the incident is now called Jenny Lind Creek. There was an English steam locomotive with her name. Her portrait was on the Swedish 50 kronor note between 1996 and 2011. One of the airplanes in the Norwegian Air fleet is called Jenny Lind and has a drawing of her on its tail.

There is a Jenny Lind Island in Canada. In Andover, Ohio, the Lutheran Chapel, to which Lind donated \$1,500, bears her name. There is a Jenny Lind bed design and a Jenny Lind crib. The list goes on and on. The global musical celebrities of today may earn much more than Lind did, but will they be remembered in the same way 200 years from now?

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Abstract

Jenny Lind (1820-1887) was a giant celebrity soprano in Europe and North America. Her tale has been written by biographers many times over. A picture emerges of an extremely competent singer who managed her position in the spotlight successfully but who still, generally, disliked the attention – the 'Lindomania' – that followed her everywhere. Her goal was to make as much money as possible in a short time in order to retire. However, she believed that she owed God, who gave her the gift of being able to sing, to use her talent to help fellow humans in need. She continued singing in concerts and oratorios often for the sole purpose of charity. Information on her earnings and abundant donations to charities appears scattered over many thousands of biography pages. The

purpose of this study is to filter out this kind of secondary information and add what has been found as primary information in a few archives in order to create a condensed rendering of incomes and donations. Jenny Lind was thought of as a very wealthy woman. Can this be substantiated by the actual numbers? She was also held as a great benefactor. How did she use her fortune?

Keywords: Work in music, cultural economics, economic history, business history, music industry, Jenny Lind.

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